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by means of the word *ndal*, meaning "again"; thus, *mbong mevils* is roughly equivalent to crescent-tusker, and *mbong mevils ndal* means "a pig whose tusk has attained to the *mbong mevils* stage for the second time," that is to say, has become a circle-tusker, and for any stage above this the qualifying adverb *ndal* is added to the name for the corresponding stage the first time round.[1]

Philological evidence points to comparatively recent development of the art of rearing circle-tuskers.

The above brief philological survey is not without importance, since it shows that, of all the terms used to describe pigs, two only are widespread, namely *bò*, the generic word for pig all over Melanesia, with its close parallels in Indonesia, and the term *rugh*, together with its various equivalents, of which the root meaning is "curved." In connexion with this term *rugh* and its equivalents, the interesting fact further emerges that they are used in various districts for almost any grade of curved-tusker, from crescent-tusker to a stage almost equivalent to circle-tusker. There is, further, the noteworthy fact that there is nowhere an individual term for circle-tusker, this grade being everywhere expressed by repeating the term used for the first visible stage of the tusk on its first round, together with some word signifying "twice" or "again."

These facts appear to indicate: (*a*) that in the development of the New Hebridean practice of rearing pigs with artificially deformed tusks the important thing at first was the production of a curved tusk of any size, called by some form of the word *rugh*, and that this term became applied at one time in various districts to the greatest length of tusk then known; and (*b*) that the stage of circle-tusker, for which no individual term exists, is a comparatively late development due to improved technique. This supposition is borne out in the accounts given by the natives themselves of the grades of tusker sacrificed both formerly and now. In the history of the Maki on Atchin (to be published in a future volume) it will be shown that it is only in recent generations that circle-tuskers have been reared in sufficient numbers to become the prescribed form of sacrifice at certain rites, and that formerly, even on the most important occasions, the highest-grade sacrificial animals were re-entrant-tuskers.

Each of the four main grades has its own conch-shell trumpet signal.

However late the development of the art of producing circle-tuskers may be, the four main grades of tusker mentioned above are now firmly established in the Small Islands, and each has its own particular ritual significance. The great importance of this method of classification in the native mind is shown by the fact that each of the four main grades has its own special signal, blown for it on a conch-shell trumpet. These

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 195.

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231 202 signals are blown whenever a tusked boar changes hands, approaches the island in a canoe or is sacrificed, and it is in connexion with tusked boars that these trumpets are chiefly used.[1]

Intermediate Stages of Growth

231 192 In addition to the four main grades cited above there are a number of intermediate grades the terms for which have no special ritual significance, but simply describe the stages of growth. Though I am unable in all cases to give literal translations as fully as I shall be able to do in a future volume with respect to those in use on Atchin, it will be seen that they are chiefly of a purely descriptive nature. They are:

Bò rombo. Sucking pig.

Na-mbò. Pig that has been weaned. (This is the general word for pig.)

Ghamb-ghamb-lehi. The lower canine (i.e. the tusk) is about to appear (through the gum). *Lehi* means "to see."

Bò-rūhūlē. The tusk has erupted.

Bò mpal-pal-re. The tusk meets the upper canine. The word *pal* means "to strike," also "to sacrifice." It is at this point that the upper canine is knocked out. I do not know whether the name refers to the striking of the tusk against the upper canine, or to the fact that, once the latter is extracted, the animal is destined for sacrifice.

Bò hōlōt. The upper canine (*patin(e)*) has been extracted.

Bò her-hari. Young tusker with tusks occasionally visible outside the lips. *Har* means "to shine," and refers presumably to the gleam of the tusk's tip when it first appears.[2]

Pakeah. Crescent-Tusker. The tusks are now plainly visible at all times outside the animal's lips.

Na-rugh. Curved-Tusker. The tusk curves backwards outside the cheek.

Tev-tev. The tip of the tusk, curving backwards and downwards, grazes the skin of the cheek, so that it bleeds. *Tev* is a widespread word meaning "to cut."

Tuh-nò-tev-siri. The tusk has pierced the cheek, but has not yet entered the jaw. It is still possible to put one's finger between the jaw and the tip of the tusk. *Tev* again means "to cut"; *siri* possibly means "entirely," indicating that the cheek is completely pierced.

Bò-ware. Re-Entrant-Tusker. The tip of the tusk, moving downwards and now forwards again, has now re-entered the jaw.

Bò e ves-vas. The tip of the tusk is now well inside the jaw.

[1] Compare also the term *ni-tavu* (=conch-shell trumpet) used for the first grade of tusker after removal of the upper canines in Seniang (Deacon, 4, p. 194). Trumpets are blown during the operation.

[2] Compare the corresponding grade in Seniang, called *mbong mevūs*, meaning "mouth white" (Deacon, 4, p. 194).

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231 539 threw a stone towards her (the usual way of a lover to make his presence known), and she turned back and saw him, and they went into the bush and lay together.

After this the woman bore a son. And Burial said, "Now I've got a son, I will buy a pig for him." So he bought a sow, which conceived, but instead of delivering at Pweter-ges, she ran away and littered at Tolamp (this must have been at the time when Tolamp was already on the mainland), where she gave birth to five male pigs. And Burial looked everywhere for the sow, but could not find her, till at last he lit upon her tracks (for it was the time of the rains), and followed them to Tolamp, where he found his sow and her five pigs and took them home. Next day he gave ten yams to his women [1] and told them to go to Tolamp and give them to Ter-ter as a return for "getting his wife with child and making his sow give birth to the five pigs." And having taken them they returned home.[2]

CONCH-SHELL TRUMPETS

(a) *Connected with the sacrifice of tusked boars.*

534 Before leaving the subject of pigs, one object especially connected with them deserves more than passing mention. This is the conch-shell trumpet, made by boring a hole in a large Triton shell.[3] When blown through this hole, the trumpet emits a loud, deep sound which carries a considerable distance. Of the two methods of boring it, at the end or at one side, it is the latter that is in use in the whole of the New Hebrides and in the Banks and Torres Islands, except in the island of Fate, where it is bored at the end. It is therefore only with trumpets with the hole bored at the side, which is also the commonest form in Polynesia, that we are concerned here. The trumpet is held in the left hand, with the hole pressed against the mouth, and variations in tone are produced by inserting the fingers of the right hand into the opening at the end of the shell. As the fingers are inserted further into the hole the tone rises, so that by this means a variety of tones is obtained. The variations in tone, combined with the number of times they are repeated, form the [202] basis on which a number of established signals have been evolved, chief among which, in the Small Islands, are the four signals blown to herald the exchange or sacrifice of the four main categories of tusked boars.[4]

There is thus an intimate connexion between conch-shell trumpets

[1] Presumably his other wives.

[2] The sow littering at Tolamp is symbolical of the fact that the wife was fertilised by a Tolamp man. This part of the tale seems to imply that if Burial was not himself fertile, his boars could not be either.

[3] Inferior trumpets are made also of Kassis shell. These are particularly noticeable in Oba (Speiser, 3, p. 422).

[4] See p. 243.

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Every performance on the gongs is further divided into a number of "movements," the whole four-part rhythm suddenly changing from one "movement" to another. Even the simplest of these rhythms are so complicated that no European has been known to master one. I myself, though moderately musical and able to join in their songs, completely failed after repeated attempts. Moreover, natives who have left the island as boys to work on a white man's plantation have been known, when they came back, to be equally unable to pick them up.

Special rhythms (gong-signals) for different occasions.

There is a great number of such combined rhythms, which vary greatly also in the emotions they arouse and in their sociological significance. I had no time on Vao to make any but the most superficial study of them, and know only a few even of their names. Of these, however, three occur so constantly as to force themselves on the attention. These are:

(*a*) The "summoning signal," sounded by the members of the introducing "line" in the Maki and allied rites or by the dead man's kin in mortuary ritual to call either the members of the opposite "line" in their own village or members of other villages to come to any given rite, dance or food-distribution, or to set about some prearranged ritual task. This signal is called *ragh-raghe ne-luw*. I do not know the literal meaning of *ne-luw*, but *ragh-raghe* is the reduplicated equivalent of the Atchin *rahe*, which in turn is probably connected with *ne-rahin*, meaning "footstep" or "track." On certain occasions the object for which the summons is sent out is specifically stated in the name used for the gong-signal. Thus when the object is a distribution of yams and other food-stuffs the signal will be called *na-mbe ragh-raghe ne-luw na-ram*, "summoning gong (*na-mbe*)-signal for the (?) distribution of yams (*na-ram*)."

(*b*) The "approach signal," sounded by those so summoned on leaving their respective dancing-grounds as a sign to those waiting for them that they have now set out. This signal is called *ne-ôs-ôs*, and is sounded also during the rites of Initiation into Manhood when all the materials for building the special Lodge have been collected and when the novices enter the dancing-ground on their way into the Lodge.[1] This special connexion with initiation is of interest in that on Atchin the chief form of this rite is called *baho n'ôs-ôs*.[2] I am unable to translate this word, and can only point out that the nearest approach to it I know of is found in the phrase *naai nŏh* (probably *na-ai n'ŏh*) used for sacred objects in the Ni-mangki Tlel secret society of Lambumbu which Deacon considers to be connected with the Banks Islands *Tamate* societies, these having many features in common with Initiation in the Small Islands.[3]

[1] See pp. 505, 510. [2] See p. 499. [3] See Deacon, 4, pp. 438 ff.

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(*c*) The "sacrificial signal," sounded whenever a tusked boar is ritually sacrificed.[1] The sounding of this signal is called *asar*. The use of this word differs from that of the other two gong-signals already mentioned, in that the names for these two are used adjectivally and are always preceded by the word *na-mbe*, meaning "gong" or "gong-signal," whereas *asar* is a verb of which the nominal form, *asaren*, is rarely used.

In addition to these oft-repeated signals, each song-and-dance cycle mentioned below has its own particular rhythms, known by the same name as the dance prefixed by the word *na-mbe*.

When to the already complicated rhythms of the gongs are added the further counter-rhythms of the dance-steps and of the accompanying songs, the effect is one of indescribable excitement, stirring emotions that the concerts of Europe never touch but that the natives can call forth at will through their unrivalled sense of rhythm.

Certain recurring dance-movements also have their own special rhythms, such as the serpentine running movement in single file referred to below on p. 323, for which the rhythm is called *ril-dralen*, philologically connected with the processional dance called *na-rel*.[2]

There are also special signals such as that called *tav-tav ghore* used on great sacrificial occasions when a special screen hiding the tusked boars is torn down prior to the sacrificial act.[3]

In addition to these there are special rhythms for announcing a death, together with the rank of the dead man, or the birth of an eldest son, or for summoning the people in case of war. There is also a special gong-signal sounded to announce the arrival of a stranger. According to Godefroy,[4] if such a one arrives on the shore and asks to speak to someone on the island, he is straightway conducted to the dancing-ground of the clan to whom the man he is seeking belongs. If this man is away, the one who accompanied the stranger will sound this special signal on the gongs, together with other signals specifying the man he seeks.[5]

SONGS

Of the songs themselves, only the faintest indication is afforded in the few examples which I give in this book. For one reason, they are almost invariably sung in more than one part. These parts are, so far as I know, not definitely recognised as such, at least so far as the men's voices are concerned, notes being altered at will by individual singers while fitting in with the harmonic scheme and melody of the song. When sung in chorus during dancing, which is the most spectacular form of the art and

[1] But not when it is killed only for food, as is the case with gelded tuskers.
[2] See p. 318. [3] See pp. 389, 420, 429. [4] Godefroy, I, 1934, p. 59.
[5] For accounts of gong-rhythms in Seniang, including examples in notation, see Deacon, 4, Chapter XVII.

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The practical result of the performance, probably based on an acoustic principle that is beyond the range of my own knowledge, is that the length of the slit is made equal to the exterior circumference of the gong.

A fowl is killed and given, together with a live pig, as payment to the magician, and tidings are sent round to all the Vao villages announcing what has been done, the messengers taking with them to each village a message-yam decorated with croton leaves together with a single killed pig for which, being for food only, no sacrificial signal is sounded. This pig is called *masoamp*, a word of which I did not enquire the exact meaning, but is probably compounded from *mas*, meaning "provisions," and *oamp*, which, when applied in the form of *tamat-oamp* to the ghosts of men slain in battle, indicates absence of mortuary rites, in this case represented by the absence of the sacrificial signal. This pig is probably made the occasion of a *masean* feast, being one for which the recipients have not previously worked.

Skilled gong-makers hollow out the gongs, which are surrounded by a screen.

Skilled workers are now called for to assist in hollowing out the gongs. I will call them the gong-makers. These may be taken from any village and from either "line." Usually those who have previously worked at successful gongs are chosen.

A screen, called *na-lit*, is built inside the *ghamal*, and no one may enter it except those who are working on the gongs. Once the work has been started it must not be discontinued from sunrise to sundown, and to maintain this standard the workers are organised into shifts. When any one shift gets tired the workers composing it come out from behind the screen into the *ghamal* while the next shift takes up the uninterrupted work. While resting, the gong-makers are supplied with magnificent puddings. Not until nightfall may the work cease, and it must be resumed again before sunrise on the following morning. From the time the work is begun until the gongs are finished none of the workers may leave the *ghamal*, except only to relieve nature.

Restrictions imposed during hollowing out.

During this time no person of the home-village, man or woman, may have any sexual connexion, nor may they step over the buttress root of a *gha-tambol* tree, nor drink water, nor may they eat fish, nor the fruit of the *tawò* tree; nor anything that is roasted on stones. If yams are to be roasted the greatest care must be taken that there are no stones in the place where the fire is made. At the beginning of this period the list of these restrictions is publicly announced by the magician. All those subject to them are said to be *vel-val*, a word meaning "sacred" or "taboo." [1]

[1] See p. 400.